

123/163 cont. 7/
75

wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

[622] The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatfa-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

727 This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

[302] I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores
● 723 /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/164 cont. /

727 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained
[413] some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[352] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They
had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later
their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old
hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of
vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned
with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days,
until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place.
The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was
the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the
principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti
began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that
farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains
were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it
would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so
much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed.
/Illustration appears here. /

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The
revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders
advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were
camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed
him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them
camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River.
The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to
have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them
to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It
was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had felled out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and
made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north
side.

291 segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through
 [804] the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and
 [801] nasal perforations, but, as the women get older, these are
 discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the
 wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children,
 nothing at all.

796 Other than the social feasts held during the dry
 527 season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, puri-
 881 fication rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a
 729 vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts
 782 during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed
 752 in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.
 744
 266

796 The puberty rite for females and the purification
 881 rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is
 783 confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific
 729 kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions
 belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new
 ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick
 up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of
 blood, of considerable mythological importance to the
 Ynomamō in validating their ferocity and warfare, is
 ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

756 The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fast-
 719 ing and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk any-
 [874] where except on a set number of paths in and around the
 village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

50 ADAPTATION

7741. in effect, was capturing the *noveshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noveshi*.¹³
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no shudibi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the
noveshi aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with
those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the
bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanoamao fear the smoke that is produced
when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the
burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs,
covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously
with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The
charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The ac-
cumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate
burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative
fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles
and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches
in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder
by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep pro-
fusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with
boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a
ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, espe-
cially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain
kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing
enemies.

¹³Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be
reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive
reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

Here, he intended

to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,³ so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwā had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawā was very exhausted from the trip. 726 (194) (501)

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawā, explaining that they had reached Patanowā-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowā-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwā of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart. 727 (758) (501)

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwā with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound. (723)

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanoamō have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwā was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered. (758)

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowā-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowā. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *anokaimen* ceremony. 727 (783) (598)

They were given spaces in Kaobawā's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawā felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowā's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwā of Kaobawā's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowā-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowā-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they 726 (701) (721)

³ The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawā's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Biamā-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Biamā-teri would not borrow it.